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ABSTRACT

This study was undertaken to investigate the formation and development of preservice social studies teachers' perspectives and the relative roles of a preservice teacher education program and the individual in this process. An individual's teaching perspective is a way of thinking and acting in a teaching situation. Examples of teaching perspectives were obtained through interviews with 25 social studies education majors at a major midwestern university. Analysis of the data supported the hypothesis that preservice teachers' perspectives are the product of a dialectial process of professional socialization. The influence of social structural variables, such as teacher education course work and field experiences, was found to be marginal and did not produce deep internal changes in the belief systems of the participants. Preservice teachers actively resisted constraints placed upon them by social structural variables. The participants were found to be active mediators in their relationships with socializing institutions as represented by the schools and university teacher education. The active role of the individual in the development of a teaching perspective was illustrated through the employment of four strategies: (1) role-playing; (2) selective role-modeling; (3) impression management; and (4) self-legitimation. (Author)

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Processes of Perspective Development Among Preservice Social Studies Teachers

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Abstract

This study was undertaken to investigate the formation and development of preservice social studies teachers' perspectives and the relative roles of a preservice teacher education program and the individual in this process. An individuals' teaching perspective is a way of thinking and acting in a teaching situation. Examples of teaching perspectives were obtained through interviews with social studies education majors (N = 25) at a major midwestern university. Analysis of the data supported the hypothesis that preservice teachers' perspectives are the product of a dialectical process of professional socialization. The influence of social structural variables, such as teacher education course work and field experiences, was found to be marginal and did not produce deep internal changes in the belief systems of the participants. Preservice teachers actively resisted constraints placed upon them by social structural variables. The participants were found to be active mediators in their relationships with socializing institutions as represented by the schools and university teacher education. The active role of the individual in the development of a teaching perspective was illustrated through the employment of four strategies: (a) role-playing, (b) selective role-modeling, (c) impression management, and (d) self-legitimation.

Processes of Perspective Development Among Preservice Social Studies Teachers

Learning to teach requires the individual to change the way he or she perceives and interprets schooling and classroom situations. During teacher education, the preservice teacher begins to develop a new frame of reference for the familiar circumstances of the classroom. How this new frame of reference--or teacher perspective--develops was the focus of this study.

A review of research on teacher education by Fuller and Bown (1975) concluded that there was a lack of theory building and conceptualization with regard to the processes of change individuals experience when learning how to teach. In the years since, this assessment of research on teacher education has been affirmed by others (e.g., Feiman-Nemser, 1983; Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1981). The most frequently stated reason for this inadequacy has been that little is known about what actually goes on in teacher education.

Recent research on teacher education has attempted to address these shortcomings by investigating the dynamics of the teacher education experience (e.g., Adler, 1984; Goodman, 1982; Tabachnick, Popkewitz, & Zeichner, 1979-1980). These studies focus on the preservice and induction phases of teaching, emphasizing concerns such as: (a) how beginning teachers give meaning and purpose to the process of learning how to teach; (b) how they perceive the subjects they will be teaching; (c) how they interpret and respond to classroom behaviors; and (d) how these new meanings give direction to their classroom practice.

The purpose of this study was to investigate the factors that influence the formation and development of teacher perspectives among

preservice social studies teachers. Answers were sought to the following questions: (a) What linkages exist between the development of teacher perspectives and the experiences provided by university teacher education? (b) What role does the individual play in the construction of a teacher perspective?

Conceptual Framework

The literature reveals four basic frameworks for the examination of the process of becoming a teacher. These frameworks may be labeled as: (a) perceived problems of beginning teachers (e.g., Cruickshank, Kennedy, & Myers, 1974), (b) developmental stage concerns (e.g., Fuller & Bown, 1975), (c) cognitive developmental (e.g., Sprinthall & Thies-Sprinthall, 1983), and (d) teacher socialization (e.g., Lacey, 1977).

Researchers using the perceived problems of beginning teachers framework have produced general agreement on the most often perceived problems of beginning teachers, but this approach has little to say about how context, teacher characteristics, and individual differences influence teachers' perceptions and performance. As Veenman (1984) points out, the three alternative frameworks for examining the process of becoming a teacher are all concerned with the changes in preservice teachers, but draw their ideas and concepts from different sources. The developmental stage concerns and cognitive developmental frameworks are effective because they provide a way of categorizing teachers according to how they think and what capacities they do or do not have at various career stages. However, the developmental frameworks consider changes in the individual as self-directed and primarily use psychological concepts in the investigation of these changes (Veenman, 1984).

Of the four conceptual frameworks identified above, the teacher socialization framework provides the most inclusive structure for the study of the process of change that occurs as an individual becomes a professional. The teacher socialization framework allows for the use of psychological concepts, but also gives attention to the changes within the context of institutional settings. As previously noted, past research has outlined the problems faced by beginning teachers, but has yielded little knowledge of the complex nature of the process of becoming a teacher. Research based upon an interactive paradigm, such as teacher socialization, provides information about the educational situations, the psychological dimensions of meanings underlying those situations, and the important personal characteristics of the individuals that interact in these situations.

Veenman (1984) proposes the Lewinian model, which views behavior as a function of the person and the environment, as the preferred model for research on the process of becoming a teacher.

> The B-P-E [behavior-person-environment] paradigm does not only propose to study the behaviour as an interactive function of the person and the environment and to describe the coordination of a person's cognitive orientation with the degree of structure of the environment; it also tries to view the present need for structure of the person on a developmental continuum along which growth toward independence and less need for structure is the long-term objective. (Veenman, 1984, p. 168)

The teacher socialization framework, which operates within the "B-P-E" paradigm, incorporates features from the other research frameworks while at the same time moving beyond them.

Within the framework of teacher socialization, there are two major foci in the study of the relationship between the individual and social institutions. The first interest is in how society transforms the individual. This representation of teacher socialization has been labeled the functionalist model (Lacey, 1977). Here socialization is described as the process whereby individuals are "fitted" to society: individuals are viewed as passive vessels that give way to the forces of socialization, accepting without resistance the attitudes, values, and behaviors deemed appropriate by society.

The deterministic character of this model is the result of an "emphasis on structural form and the unchanging nature of social institutions" (Lacey, 1977, p. 19). The history of research on teacher education reflects the influence of this model on conceptions of how individuals acquire the beliefs, knowledge, attitudes, and values that are representative of a teaching culture (Zeichner, 1980). While the functional perspective has contributed much to the understanding of the processes of teacher socialization, it has failed to account for the variations in the outcomes of teacher socialization, that is, the existence of different teacher perspectives.

Educational research has challenged the deterministic framework of the functionalist model of teacher socialization. Drawing upon investigations of professional socialization in other fields, particularly medicine (e.g., Becker, Geer, Hughes, & Strauss, 1961; Bucher & Stelling, 1977; Olesen & Whittaker, 1968), a model of teacher socialization that focuses on the constant interplay between individuals and institutions has begun to develop. According to this dialectical model of socialization, "while social structures are compelling in the construction of identity, the

concept of socialization should define people as both recipients and creators of values" (Popkewitz, cited in Zeichner, 1980, p. 4). The dialectical model provides a more comprehensive theory of socialization by acknowledging the constraints of social structures, while not overlooking the active role individuals play in the construction of their own professional identities. Individuals' actions and beliefs that contradict the dominant norms and values pervading a particular social setting serve as evidence that the individual is not a passive vessel. The dialectical model views the process of teacher socialization as one in which prospective teachers adjust to their roles as teachers without deep internal changes in beliefs and attitudes.

One approach to the investigation of the dialectical processes of teacher socialization employs the construct of teacher perspective. In much of the functionalist literature, the exclusive focus has been on expressed attitudes and ideology. These studies generally employed inventory surveys and failed to produce an adequate description of the professional development process experienced by beginning teachers. These studies have been called into question by Zeichner and Grant (1985). The construct of perspective has been a useful vehicle for overcoming the deterministic character of this portion of the literature. Becker et al. (1961) first developed this construct in a study of medical student socialization. The term "perspective" refers to:

> a co-ordinated set of ideas and actions a person uses in dealing with some problematic situation, to refer to a person's ordinary way of thinking and feeling about and acting in such a situation. These thoughts and actions are co-ordinated in the sense that they flow reasonably, from the actor's point of view, from the ideas contained

in the perspective. (Becker et al., 1961, p. 34)

While several studies relying in whole or in part on the investigation of teacher perspectives have been conducted, the body of work is relatively small (Adler, 1984; Gibson, 1976; Goodman & Adler, 1985; Hammersly, 1977; Tabachnick, Popkewitz, Zeichner, 1979-1980; Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1985).

Adler (1984) has described the notion of teacher perspectives as a construct that captures the ideas, behaviors, and contexts of particular teaching acts. Teacher perspectives differ from self-reported statements of ideology or attitudes because they are anchored in the world of actual situations and have reference to particular behaviors. Therefore, a teacher perspective is a theory of action that has developed as a result of the individual's experiences and is applied in particular situations. Teacher perspectives take into account a broad range of factors, including the teacher's background, beliefs, and assumptions, the contexts of the classroom and the school, how these elements are interpreted, and the interpretation's influence on the teacher's actions.

Recent field-based studies have inquired into the nature of preservice teachers' perspectives toward teaching in general and the social studies curriculum in particular. This study was conducted to contribute to our knowledge of teacher perspectives by examining the specific processes through which teacher perspectives are created.

Methodology

Because this study explored individual teacher perspectives and the processes through which they developed, it was necessary to use a methodology that allowed for the incorporation of the ideas, actions, thoughts, and feelings of the participants themselves as the major focus of the inquiry. Considering the study's purpose, the naturalistic research

paradigm appeared to provide the most appropriate framework for the study's design. Previous research regarding professional socialization and the development of perspectives has demonstrated that qualitative research methods and a naturalistic theoretical perspective allow unanticipated phenomena to be investigated as they emerge (Friebus, 1977).

Students majoring in social studies education at a large midwestern public university during 1984-85 were the subjects of the study. Twenty-five students representing each of the four major phases of the teacher education program at the university were selected to participate. The sample included students from: (a) the freshman early field experience program, (b) the sophomore level general pedagogy and educational psychology course sequence, (c) the senior level secondary social studies methods courses, and (d) student teaching. Four students were randomly selected and volunteered to participant in a pilot study. Pilot interviews were open-ended, loosely structured, and focused on general schooling background, significant influences in the decision to teach, and general knowledge of teaching. Based upon the pilot interviews and previous ethnographic investigations of the professional socialization process (Becker et al., 1961; Lortie, 1975), an interview schedule was constructed.

Interview sessions that ranged from one to two hours in length were conducted with the remaining 21 participants. The interviews attempted to construct a story of the development of each individual as a teacher. The interviews were similar to what Levinson (1978) calls biographical interviews and generally followed the established interview schedule, but were sensitive to and probed individual respondents' replies. The interviews focused on the development of the individual's teaching perspective over time, particularly during the university teacher education

program. Audio tapes of the interviews were transcribed and the data was analyzed using a modified version of the constant comparative method of data analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Miles & Huberman, 1984). Data categories and patterns were identified, defined, and then compared across individuals and groups. The patterns and categories of data were continuously refined or linked to other classes of phenomena. In order to add meaning to the coding process, marginal remarks and memos were used by the researcher to point out important issues that codes might have been blurring and to suggest new interpretations, leads, and connections between and among particular categories.

Respondents participated in follow-up interviews, where the researcher shared specific patterns that emerged from the study as well as tentative conclusions. The respondents were given an opportunity to confirm, modify, or challenge the information in a summary of the study's preliminary findings. The major means through which the credibility of the findings was established included: (a) triangulation techniques, including a variety of data sources (audio tapes, transcriptions, follow-up interviews, brief written biographical survey), (b) field notes and research journal of the researcher, (c) member checks (i.e., the clarification of questions and responses during and after the interviews, and the sharing of interview transcripts, working hypotheses, and interpretations with respondents).[1]

Findings

The main objectives of the study were to construct a composite picture of the participants' teacher perspectives and to examine the processes through which the perspectives were created. This paper focuses on the second of these two objectives.[2]

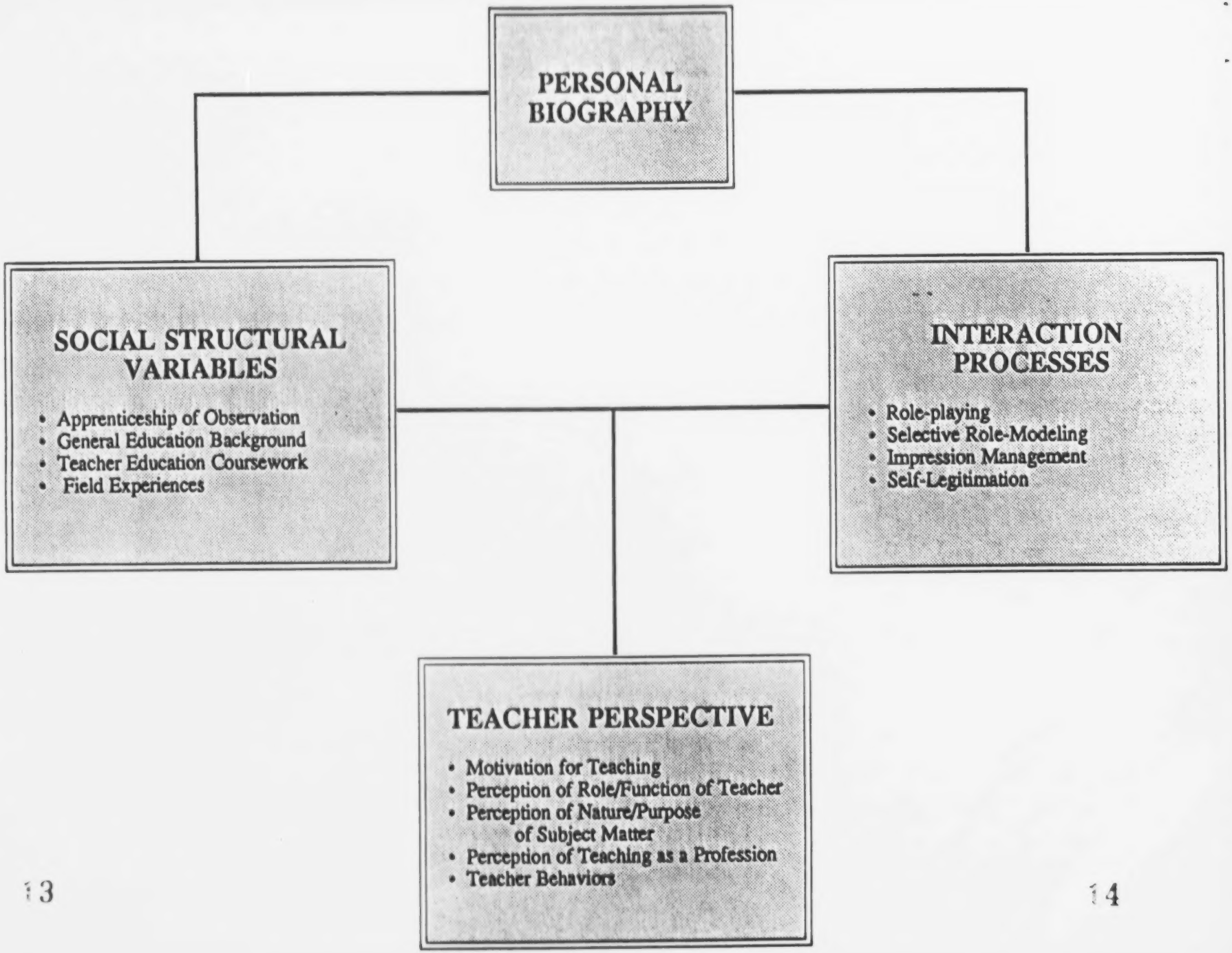
Insert Figure 1 about here

The active role of the individual in the development of teacher perspectives.

While the university and the schools determined the organization and general nature of preservice experiences, individuals shaped these experiences through any of four mechanisms that have been labeled interactive processes. These included: (a) role-playing, (b) selective role-modeling, (c) impression management, and (d) self-evaluation.

Role-playing. The opportunity for role-playing in early field experiences, as well as student teaching, was found to be the most important process in the development of a teacher perspective. In this study, role-playing included those activities preservice teacher assumed in classrooms that were considered to be "teacher activities." Role-playing during field experiences allowed preservice teachers a certain degree of autonomy and responsibility, placed them in situations where they were treated as professionals by others, and allowed them to demonstrate and evaluate their teaching abilities. These role-playing experiences allowed preservice teachers to participate in and master activities that, up to this point, preservice teachers had only observed inservice teachers doing. Through role-playing in field experiences, preservice teachers were able to "prove" to themselves and others that they had mastered, or were on their way to mastering, the skills and knowledge that are necessary for successful teaching.

Respondents' descriptions of how an individual learns to teach were dominated by references to role-playing during field experiences. The


PERSONAL BIOGRAPHY
SOCIAL STRUCTURAL VARIABLES
• Apprenticeship of Observation
• General Education Background
• Teacher Education Coursework
• Field Experiences
INTERACTION PROCESSES
• Role-playing
• Selective Role-Modeling
• Impression Management
• Self-Legitimation
TEACHER PERSPECTIVE
• Motivation for Teaching
• Perception of Role/Function of Teacher
• Perception of Nature/Purpose of Subject Matter
• Perception of Teaching as a Profession
• Teacher Behaviors

significance of role-playing opportunities is evident in these student teachers' comments that follow.

> I think you learn to teach through hands-on experiences. When you get into the classroom, you just learn as you go. You can read a lot of books—I read a lot of books—and they give you a good background knowledge, but until you have a change to apply it, I don't think it really comes to life for you. (Interview ST/3)[4]

> Field experiences are the most important because you are doing it. You learn directly from your mistakes. You see your mistakes much faster. At the university, I felt a lot of the issues were based upon opinion. Your answers were based on your opinion and it is easy to do that in a college class. Anybody can fake that, as long as you know how to articulate in a clear-cut fashion. You can write the greatest essay in the world and it may mean nothing, but, in the schools, it's a different story. There is nowhere to hide. If you goof-up, you goof-up. I think I learned faster and I realized my mistakes much quicker in the field. I really made a lot of mistakes in the classroom, based on opinions that weren't well-grounded. (Interview ST/2)

In relation to field experiences, the respondents perceived teacher education course work as artificial and separated from the reality of the school classroom. Preparatory activities such as lesson planning, objective writing, test construction, and discussions of various schools of thought regarding subjects such as motivation of students and classroom management were viewed as teacher education activities, not professional activities. Mastery of teacher education course work did not provide a

sense of mastery of the activities required of the professional teacher.

As illustrated in the interview excerpts below, many respondents believed that success in teacher education course work was not linked to an individual's ability to succeed in the classroom as a teacher.

> I think field experiences are by far more important than course work. I think you learn more that you would out of a book. In a course you might learn the procedures, like how to set up a lesson plan, but there is no room for deviation in a book. When you are out there in the field, you have to react to what you see. (Interview FEEP/3)

> I would say it's through a combination of course work and field experiences [that you learn how to teach]. You really can't learn it until you have done it. So you have to have practice in the field. (Interview FEEP/5)

> It is easy to sit around and talk with a professor about the nature of the adolescent, but when one's sitting right there in front of you, it's a whole different story....It is a whole different perspective from the field. They don't give you little hints about what to look for. I mean, how you're going to see this kid's sliding down in his chair, you know. I guess they can't teach you how to notice little things about the kids while they're sitting there. I just learned everything from the field experience. [I learned everything] from the student teaching instead of the course work. (Interview ST/6)

> [In the course work] you're not experiencing it. The professor can sit there and give us a certain situation and we could tell him what

> we're going to do. I mean, I could tell him what I'd do, but once you get out there and there's just other things that come into play that you have to deal with...instantly. So it's [the course work] detached. [In the field] you can't just say, "Well, what should I do now?" and sit back and make up your mind—you have to do something right away...you have to. (Interview ST/4)

In short, the opportunity to "prove" one's self as a teacher in a real classroom situation is much more important to the preservice teacher than success in the university classroom as a student. One respondent put it this way: "the important question lurking in the back of my mind all through the program was, 'Would I really be able to survive in the classroom.'"

The segregation of theory and practice in teacher education, as evident in these findings, is not a new problem (cf. Dewey, 1904/1964). The practical nature of the work of teaching is not easily replicated in the university classroom, therefore, opportunities to role-play provide the only way in which preservice teachers can confront the complexity of the teaching situation. Prospective teachers enter teacher education with certain theories regarding what actions will be most effective for them as teachers. These theories of action are the conceptual structures and visions that provide reasons for actions taken in a particular situation and are chosen to enhance effectiveness of those actions (Sanders & McCutcheon, 1986). While theories of action may be added to as a result of teacher education course work and other experiences, the major source of their development is through practical inquiry--comparing actual practices to a vision of what is believed to be effective and by experimenting with actions and weighing the consequences (Sanders & McCutcheon, 1986).

Theories of action are developed, then, as a result of actions taken while in the teacher's role. Role-playing in field experiences provided the only outlet for practical inquiry in this setting, and as a result was a highly valued experience for preservice teachers.

Selective role-modeling. Much of the literature regarding the influence of role models on neophyte teachers presents the preservice teacher, especially the student teacher, as indiscriminantly modeling the actions and beliefs of the cooperating teacher. The picture that emerged from this study's data is that preservice teachers use a selective role-modeling process, in which the preservice teacher draws specific attributes from many different role-models instead of globally modeling one individual.

Preservice teachers were highly selective in the way they modeled these individuals. They chose specific qualities from different individuals and attempted to blend them together into an ideal model, which they considered appropriate to themselves. This process of role-modeling did not produce the "cloning" effect described in early investigations of student teacher role-modeling (e.g., Edgar & Warren, 1969; Karmos & Jacko, 1977). Based upon their own judgment, the respondents selected specific attributes from other people that they desired to incorporate into their own teaching perspective. The most frequently mentioned attributes or qualities respondents selected from their role-models were: mastery of content knowledge, fairness in dealing with pupils, trustworthiness, humor, concern regarding the holistic needs of pupils, outgoing/enthusiastic nature, use of teaching techniques that emphasized pupil participation, and clarity of instruction.

Time spent observing teachers in elementary and secondary school played an important role in the preservice teachers' formation of perspectives on teaching. This was particularly evident with regard to the process of selective role-modeling. During their years as pupils, respondents had constructed an image of the work of teachers based solely upon teachers' actions that were readily observable to pupils. Experiences gained in university course work and through field experiences provided preservice teachers with a wider variety of teacher models. The process of selective role-modeling is describe by several respondents in the following ways.

> I carry my past experiences with me, but at the same time I'm kind of picking and choosing...it's like I'm picking things that I think will fit in with me and I'm rejecting others. (Interview ST/3)

> Initially [in early field experiences] I mimicked the instructors who were in the schools...later on, I modeled their tone rather that specific actions. (Interview SSM/3)

> I didn't look at one person and make myself a carbon copy of that person, but I think it is good to listen to other people's ideas. They might have a real good idea you never thought of or give you a new approach that you never thought of. (Interview ST/5)

Respondents not only had partial positive role-models, but also negative role-models. Negative role-models were those persons possessing characteristics or ways of doing things that respondents did not want to acquire. The influence of the apprenticeship of observation as a student in school is apparent in the descriptions of negative role-models.

> To tell you the truth, some of the worst teachers I had were my history teachers in high school. I think the reason...was because they were coaches. They were the most boring teachers I ever had. Everything came straight from the book....It was just so dull. They just basically said, "Turn to chapter eight, read section one, answer the questions at the end." I don't want to be like that. (Interview ST/5)

> My high school government class was the most boring class that I ever had....He [the teacher] was pretty boring. You went into class and he stood up there for 45 minutes and we took notes and had tests on Fridays and that was it. I'm not going to be like that. (Interview ST/4)

From the above examples, it is evident that respondents believed they were the architects of their ideal model. They selected from the various attributes they had had an opportunity to observe during their years as pupils and synthesized them into a model of what they would like to become.

Impression management. The third interactional process identified in the data analysis was impression management. Impression management is the process of engaging in activities to please one's superiors, even when that activity is not part of the individual's belief system (Becker, et al., 1961; Goffman, 1959; Lacey, 1977). Many of the respondents described instances from field experiences, in which they exercised a form of impression management. In some cases, behavioral conformity was motivated either by the desire to please persons with evaluative power (i.e., cooperating teachers or university supervisors) or by the belief that behavioral conformity was in the best interest of the pupils. In either

case, the respondents harbored reservations about things they had done in the classroom and stated that they would not have taken these actions without the influence of situational constraints. The following are examples from preservice teachers in early field experiences and student teaching.

> I felt that if it was a class of mine, I might have handled it differently. But, it is hard to come in when the teacher already has a certain schedule and change it....It was really hard to get the kids motivated. They always had to sit in their seats and keep quiet, so it was impossible to do group work or anything constructive. If it had been my class, it would have been structured completely different. I would have kept trying [to motivate the kids]. I would have tried different things, until I got through to them. I thought it was ridiculous to give up....The teacher told me to forget it, he said it [trying to motivate the students] was a waste of time....I felt like I couldn't say anything to him, because it wasn't my classroom. I was just in the freshman field experience....I felt like he was evaluating me. (Interview FEEP/3)

> I tried to follow the routine of the cooperating teacher. My lesson plan was a bit different actually, but I tried to keep the continuity [with what the cooperating teacher had done before]. I tried to use good judgment and do something that the cooperating teacher would have wanted....I tried to do what they wanted. I didn't want to rock any boats....I'm not one that never wants to rock the boat, but I think in that type of situation, you give in because you are taking someone else's class and it could be a real awkward situation, especially if

you didn't get along with this person. (Interview PI/3)

I was locked into it for weeks, and I guess the reason I felt that locked in is because I hated to go from one type of thing to another right off the bat. You know, make a straight cut. The kids are going to be confused; they won't know what's going on. I don't think I have had enough experience where I was allowed to use new techniques--to see how they affected kids. At Harding, I was very locked in to using the same techniques she [the cooperating teacher] was using and using the same materials she was. I really didn't experiment, because I had to keep pace with her classes....I was bored. I thought it was kind of a waste of time....I didn't want to work with those kids that way because it was failing with them. (Interview ST/4)

I developed a lesson plan that I knew would pass....It had to deal with every second, because that was what this guy [university supervisor] wanted. So I did that, and then I got up in front of the class...I used the lesson plan as a point of reference, in that, first I should go over this point and then go over that part. I kind of winged it as to how I was going to handle it--what questions I should ask. (Interview SSM/4)

The use of a strategy such as impression management illustrates how an individual may manipulate a situation while still being constrained by it. Despite structural constraints during teacher education field experiences, the respondents were able to play an active role in the events that occurred.

Self-legitimation. The fourth process illustrative of the individual's active role in the development of teacher perspectives is the process of self-legitimation or self-evaluation. The data of this study indicate that preservice teachers, when judging their own performance and competence as teachers, placed a great emphasis (but not all) on their self-evaluation. When asked about how one validates him or herself as a teacher--that is, who they look to for cues about their performance--there were two patterns that emerged. First, some respondents relied on their judgment of what pupils thought of their performance. These judgments were not based upon systematic written or verbal evaluations, but rather upon the "mood" or the "reaction of the students to the lesson." The second pattern was for the respondents to evaluate their classroom performance based upon their own sense of competency or their own self-perceptions. There were exceptions to these patterns that emphasized self-evaluation, particularly in cases where the respondent and his or her cooperating teacher held similar perspective toward teaching, but these were in the minority of cases. Just as preservice teachers made judgments regarding positive and negative attributes of role models, they made judgments regarding their own attributes and actions. The following comments are illustrate the process of self-legitimation as it emerged from the interview data:

> I would say that your own evaluation is most important. You've got to wake up and look at yourself in the mirror, and if you lie to yourself...then so be it. Hopefully you would realize it. I would think in teaching you are going to have some problems....But 12 years from now will you be able to look at yourself in the mirror and be so confident in what you have done that you can't have any critical self-analysis? Or be so blind to what you have done that you just can't see

it yourself? The bottom line is my opinion. Somewhere I try to eliminate my mistakes. I guess in the classroom, you have to look out for yourself. There is so much time when you wouldn't have anybody else [to evaluate your performance]. (Interview PI/2)

My cooperating teacher's opinions were important, but my internal sense of what was going on was probably the most important. Because in spite of the fact that I thought I did a good job [during student teaching], I don't want to teach any more. I don't feel that I'm that great of a teacher, and I don't think that I would do that well. So I guess it is just more of an internal sense of what was going on. In spite of the fact that my cooperating teacher and the university supervisor said I did a good job, my own evaluation was more important. (ST/1)

My evaluation of my teaching is the most important opinion....If I had not just stuck to that plan, but I allowed the students to interact, to participate and we got something unique going at the end--that's great! If the kids are really enjoying it and they're learning something from it. I'd say that's how I evaluate my teaching. (Interview ST/4)

Respondents' beliefs that the knowledge base of teaching is founded upon tacit or personalistic knowledge seem to have promoted the legitimacy of self-evaluation of classroom performance. Preservice teachers in this study described the requisite knowledge and skills of teaching as being highly personal and individualistic. That is, they perceived the knowledge base of teaching as uncodified and relativistic. A utilitarian perspective

dominated the respondents' approaches to the study of teaching. Their pedagogical attitudes and actions were summarized in one respondent's remark that, "what is right is what works for you and what you feel comfortable doing." The widespread belief among the respondents was that personality characteristics were more important to success in the classroom than any particular knowledge or skills that might be taught during teacher education. One student teacher put it this way:

> I think your personality is going to make you a better teacher than all the knowledge in the world...It's a talent. I think it's just as much of a talent as being a musician. You can learn all kinds of technical things, but if you don't have the talent, you can go ahead and play the notes, but you're not going to hear the same soul...I don't think you can totally learn to teach, I think that a lot of people just couldn't do it. So, if you don't have it, no matter what the university does, they're not going to make a teacher out of somebody who should be wearing a lab coat and locked in a room somewhere with test tubes. (Interview ST/6)

This perception of the knowledge base of educational studies was reflected in the respondents' generally low and/or negative regard for the importance of expert opinion and critiques of their own teaching performance. This perception of the nature of knowledge about teaching and learning allowed the neophyte teacher to set him or herself up as a competent and qualified judge of teaching performance.

Summary

This study was undertaken to investigate the processes through which preservice social studies teachers' perspectives are created. Analysis of the data supported the hypothesis that preservice teachers' perspectives

are the product of a dialectical process of professional socialization.

The influence of social structural forces, such as teacher education course work and field experiences, was found to be marginal and did not produce deep internal changes in the belief systems of the respondents. Preservice teachers were not found to be active in their resistance to the constraints placed upon them these forces. They functioned as active mediators of socializing forces as represented by the schools and university teacher education. The active role of the individual in the development of a teaching perspective was illustrated through the respondents' use of four strategies: (a) role-playing, (b) selective role-modeling, (c) impression management, and (d) self-legitimation.

Recommendations

Drawing recommendations from research such as this must be done tentatively. This study did not intend to examine the complete process of teacher socialization and perspective development. The study has examined one setting in which preservice teachers are engaged in particular roles. There are other broader ranging sources of influence that play a part in the development of teacher perspectives that have not been addressed in this research (i.e., the selection of teachers, economic factors, etc.). However, based upon the findings of this research, there are several recommendations that can be made.

First, the dialectical process of teacher perspective development illustrated in this research should be taken into account by reform-minded teacher educators when planning revisions of the present curriculum of teacher education. A better understanding of the dynamic of learning to teach, based upon the insights gained from preservice teachers, can assist reformers in the creation of a teacher education curriculum that is more

meaningful to the prospective, as well as the practicing, teacher.

Second, a central problem of preservice teacher education, as it is presently organized, seems to be that its value depends upon the preservice teacher being properly prepared to learn from it. It has been illustrated in this study that preservice teachers are not passive recipients of knowledge, but that they are actively engaged in the construction of meanings. By acknowledging the active role of the individual in the process of learning to teach, preservice teacher education may be able to provide preservice teachers with ways in which they can become reflective practitioners, that is, more critical and analytical in their assessments of themselves and others.

Course work in teacher education might aim to make preservice teachers more aware of their own past experiences and preconceived beliefs about teaching in order to subject them to scrutiny. The goal would not be to disprove the relevancy of past experiences, but simply to expose individual beliefs to critical examination and discourage "personalized" versions of the teaching truth. Teacher educators should work to break down what Lortie (1975) described as the "intellectual segregation" between scientific reasoning and pedagogical practice. Based upon the findings in this research, it seems that teacher education has failed to meet the ideal expressed by Dewey (1904/1964) that, "criticism should be directed to making the professional student thoughtful about his [sic] work in light of principles, rather than to induce in him [sic] a recognition that certain special methods are good and certain other special methods bad" (p. 335).

Third, the role and purpose of field experiences in teacher education also must be critically examined. Because of the importance of role-playing in the professional development of teachers, field experience-based

learning is the most significant event in the preservice teacher's professional preparation. However, field experiences pose several difficulties for teacher educators. As illustrated in this research, field experiences promote a utilitarian perspective in preservice teachers. This utilitarian perspective is demonstrated in a "trial and error" approach to teaching. Sanders and McCutcheon (1984) point out that teachers rarely take actions that do not make sense to themselves, but that preservice teachers are faced with two significant limitations when performing in the field: "(1) they are not able to perceive and interpret the professionally significant features of the situation, and (2) they lack the knowledge that enables the practitioner to choose actions appropriate in these circumstances for the purpose of producing desired consequences" (pp. 4-5).

For many preservice teachers, the broader questions of teaching raised in some teacher education courses, such as the nature of learning or the role of the school in society, are artificial and separated from the real world activities of the teacher and activities involving these broader questions are viewed as only important as part of meeting teacher education course work requirements. This divorce between the scholarship and method of teaching might be addressed through closer coordination of the field and course work components of teacher education. Dewey (1904/1964) noted that the twin problems of developing an intellectual method of applying subject-matter and mastering techniques of class instruction and management are not independent and isolated problems. Unfortunately, the traditional organization of the teacher education program encourages the separation of these problems into theory-oriented course work and management-oriented field experiences. Teacher educators should strive to link the goals of mastery of teaching techniques and provide a foundation for professional

development.

Meeting this goal would require changes in the curriculum and learning experiences provided in preservice teacher education. While recent comprehensive plans for the reform of teacher education have addressed the integration of theory and practice (Joyce & Clift, 1984; Holmes Group, 1986), the following selected recommendations regarding the implementation of theory and practice in teacher education are supported as a result of the findings of this research. First, teacher education should provide opportunities for the study and application of action research methods by preservice teachers. The action research cycle involves discourse (planning and reflection) and practice (observation and action) and provides a structure for integrating theoretical and practical inquiry into teaching. Recent literature on reflective or inquiry-oriented teacher education demonstrates attempts to combine the elements of action research with teacher education (Ross & Hannay, 1986; Tom, 1985). Second, organization of teacher education classes into cohort groups would provide a support network that respondents reported missing from their teacher education experience as well as a context within which to share analyses of their own and others' practice. Fullan (1985) suggests that, "stimulating individual reflection in relation to action, and collective (two or more people) sharing of an analysis of this practice-based reflection is at the heart of reforms in teacher education" (p. 205). Third, a laboratory or clinical approach to teacher education would allow preservice teachers in methods and/or subject area courses to work closely with classroom teachers and university teacher educators in integrating the theory and practice of teaching. The goal of laboratory/clinical teacher education would not be to give working command of the necessary tools of teaching (i.e.,

techniques of instruction and management), but rather to provide opportunities for action and reflection (Dewey, 1904/1964).

These recommendations represent minimal issues for consideration in light of the conclusions of this study and future actions of teacher educators. What should no longer be ignored is the active role of the individual in mediating the curriculum of teaching. Excellence in the schools cannot be achieved without quality teachers and quality teachers must have a platform for professional growth. By recognizing this fact and providing preservice teachers with the initial tools for professional growth and the support network for continued growth, an important step can be taken toward the goal of excellence in the schools.

Endnotes

[1] For a more complete discussion of the rationale and methods used in the data collection and analysis, see Ross (1986).

[2] Ross (1986) provides a description and analysis of the elements of teacher perspectives held by the participants in the study.

[3] McCutcheon (1982) has defined curriculum as what students have the opportunity to learn. With this definition in mind, the curriculum of teaching is what preservice teacher have the opportunity to learn about teaching.

[4] Codes following interview excerpts identify the respondents by academic rank and an identification number. The academic rank codes are: FEEP (freshman early experience program); PI (sophomore, professional introduction to education); SSM (junior/senior, social studies methods); and ST (senior, student teaching)

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